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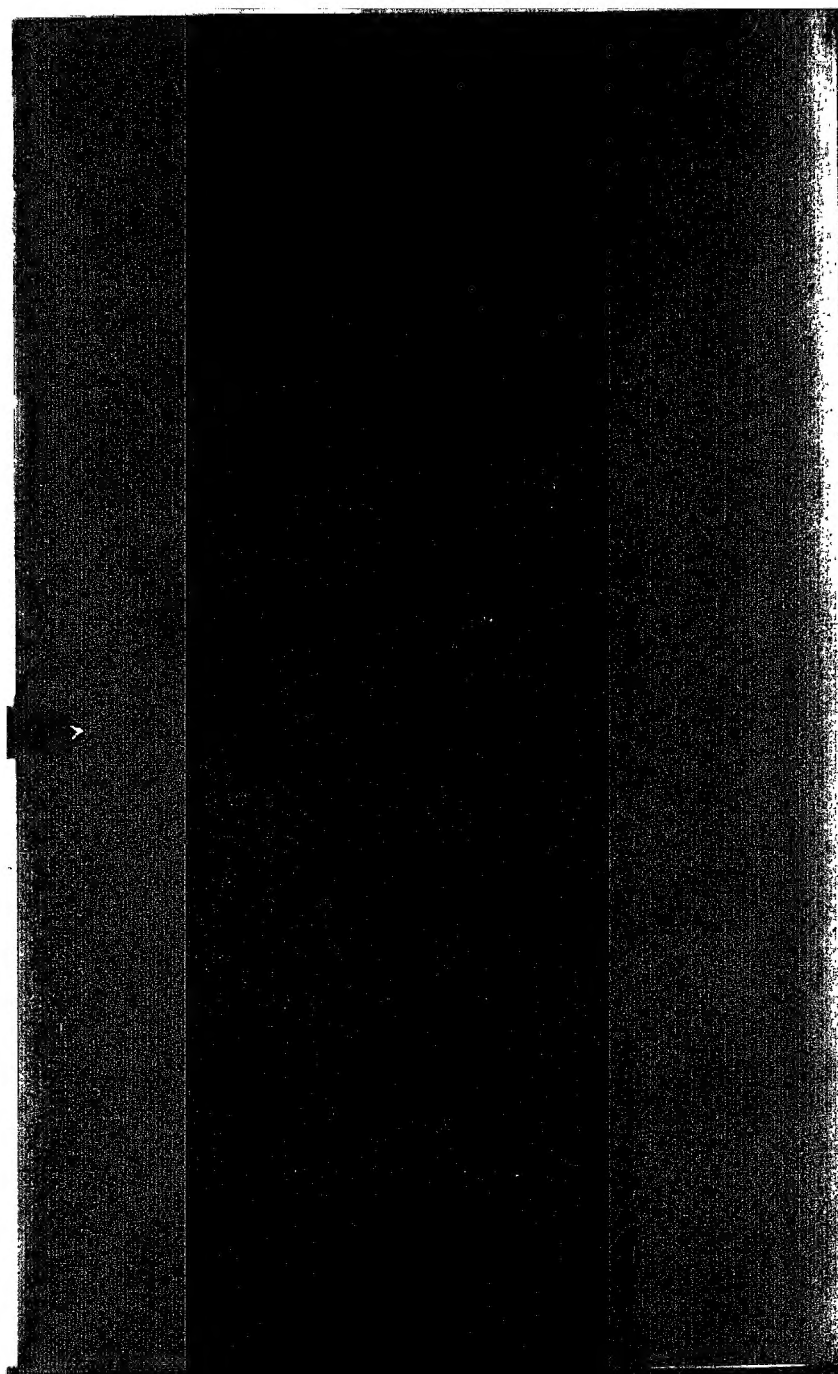


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MANITOBA
AND
CONFEDERATION.

BY
VERITAS VINCIT.

WINNIPEG:
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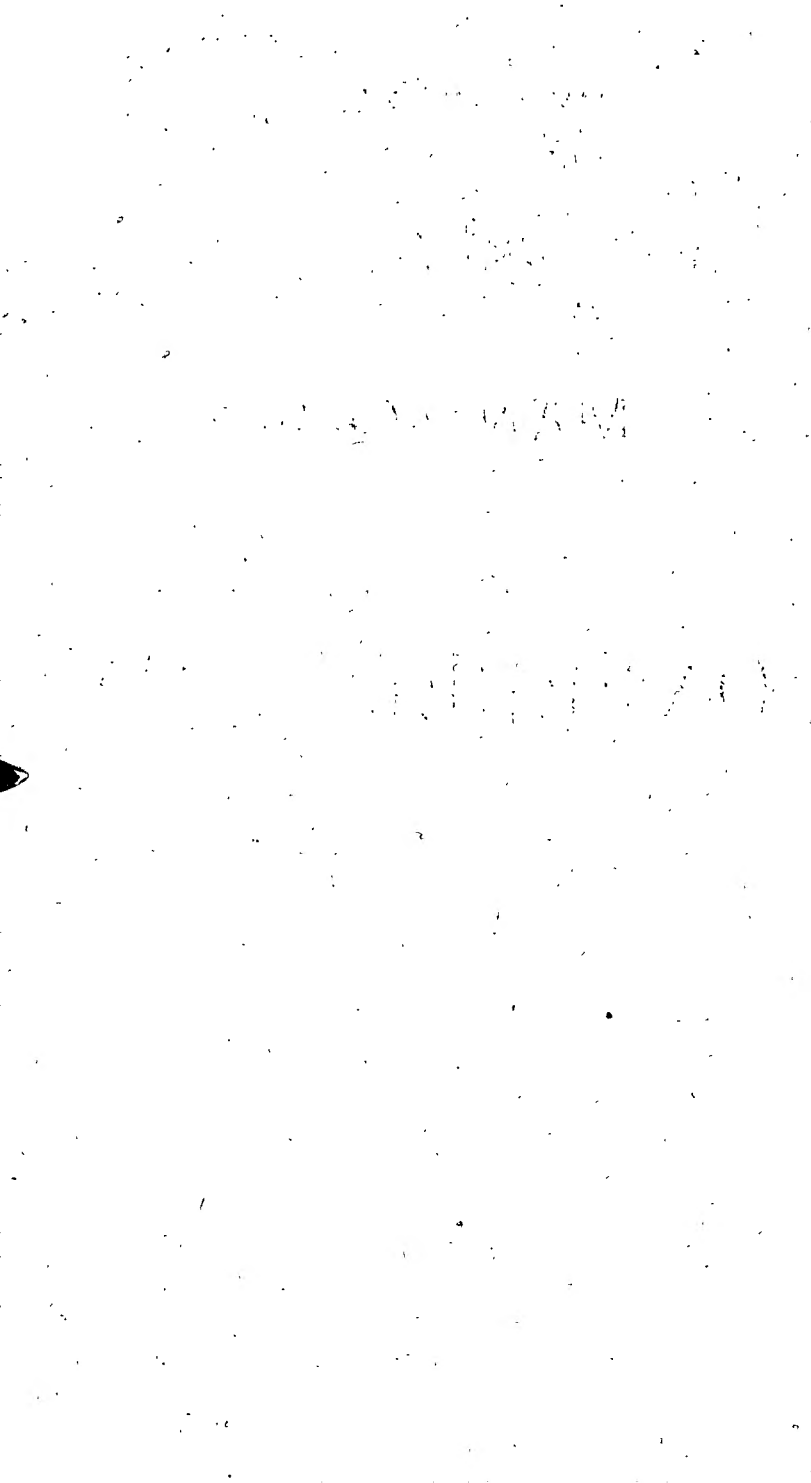


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MANITOBA AND CONFEDERATION.

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MANITOBA:

ITS POSITION IN AND ITS RELATION TO

CONFEDERATION.

AT the present time it may be said that Confederation is on its trial, and as many people scarcely appreciate what it is or means, it may not be inopportune to consider those questions and the position of Manitoba as a member of it. The word "Confederate" is derived from the Latin words *con*, meaning together, and *federatus* leagued together—"confederation," "*a union for mutual support*," "*a league*," "*an alliance*." Keeping the meaning of the word before us, we see that a confederation of States or Provinces is a partnership for the common good, and that there cannot be any real confederation where there is not a common interest, where each partner has not equal privileges with the other partners, and where the consent of all the confederates has not been first obtained through the representatives of the people of the States to a federal union.

I need not go into the question of how the confederation in Canada was brought about. It is now well known that it arose out of a threatened deadlock between Upper and Lower Canada, the English-speaking people of the two provinces refusing longer to submit to the aggressions and encroachments of the French-speaking population on their liberties and finances, or longer to submit to their dictation in political matters, and in the government of an English colony. Representation by population was made the watchword cry of the Upper Province, and to the late Hon. George Brown the Dominion of Canada owes its existence more than to any other man, and if he had been spared, many of

the evils which now threaten its very existence would have been combatted with his well-known vigour and clear perception. Ontario has as yet scarcely realized what she owes to this great man, and the Dominion how much it lost in his sad and early death.

In 1867 the federal union of the Provinces of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick was accomplished. The British North America Act 1867 was passed by the Imperial Parliament to sanction and confirm it, and on the first of July of that year the Dominion of Canada came into existence—under the Crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, with the Queen as its head.

The British North America Act declares the Constitution of Legislative authority in the Dominion; defines the nature of the executive governments in the Dominion—Federal and Provincial—and makes provision for the admission into the Union of other parts of British North America. Section 9 declares that the executive government and authority of and over Canada is vested in the Queen; and section 11 empowers the Governor General, as the chief executive officer under the Crown, carrying on the Government of Canada on behalf and in the name of the Queen, to choose a council to be called the Queen's Privy Council for Canada, to aid and advise him in the government of the Dominion, the said council being removable at the pleasure of the Governor General.

By this Act it is declared that there shall be only one Parliament for the Dominion of Canada, consisting of the Queen, the Senate, and the House of Commons. The Parliament of the Dominion is authorized to make laws for the peace, order and good government of Canada in relation to all matters not coming within the classes of subjects by this act assigned "exclusively" to the Legislatures of the Provinces; and for greater certainty, those subjects on which the Houses of Parliament are entitled to legislate are enumerated and specified.

Each Province is entitled to a House of Legislature consisting of the Lieut.-Governor and the House or Houses, as may be, and to be called the Legislative Assembly. The 92nd section of the

act declares that the Legislature of each Province may "exclusively" make laws in relation to matters coming within the classes of subjects next hereinafter enumerated. * * * Among those subjects we find "*the management and sale of the public lands belonging to the Province, and of the timber and wood thereon.*"

"Local works and undertakings other than such as are of the following classes, viz: lines of steam or other ships, railways, canals, telegraphs, and other works or undertakings connecting the Province with any other, or others of the Provinces, or extending beyond the limits of the Province; such works as although wholly situate within the Province, are before or after their execution, declared by the Parliament of Canada to be for the general advantage of Canada or for the advantage of two or more of the Provinces." Generally to make laws on all matters of a merely local or private nature in the Province.

The power of disallowance for bills or acts passed by the Houses of Parliament vests in the Queen, and must be exercised within two years of the time the act is presented for the Queen's assent; and for those bills or acts passed by the Legislative Assemblies of the Provinces, the power of disallowance vests in the Lieut.-Governor acting for the Governor General, and must be exercised within one year from the date of the bill or act being presented for his assent.

Section 146 provides for the admission of the other British Colonies to the Federal Union, and specially as regards Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territories, "*that they, or either of them*" shall be admitted into the union on such terms and conditions in "*each*" case as are in the addresses expressed, and as the Queen thinks fit to approve, "*subject to the provisions of this (B. N. A.) Act.*" Those are the clauses of the act with which I shall chiefly deal, and here I would merely remark in reference to the 146th section that the arrangement with the Hudson's Bay Company did not take place until some time after the passing of the act, that Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territory were recognized as two distinct countries, both or either of them to be admitted to the union on certain terms. No provision was made to retain them as territories, or to break them up without the consent of

the people, and being admitted they were so "subject to the provisions of the British North America Act."

In 1870, an act was passed by the Dominion of Canada Parliament forming a Province out of a portion of Rupert's Land, under the name of Manitoba, and admitting it a member of the Federal Union; and in defiance of the 146th section of the B. N. A. Act, and of sub-section 5 of section 92, Manitoba is deprived of her ungranted or waste lands, the most fertile in America, and those lands to be administered by the government of Canada for the purposes of the Dominion. This was done on the absurd pretence of Canada having purchased from and paid for Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territory to the Hudson's Bay Company £300,000 sterling. No one, I presume, thinks that the arrangement with that Company can be disputed as far as the Company is concerned; but as regards the Dominion Government, it is now well known that they held the claim of the Hudson's Bay Company to be illegal and untenable, and to save litigation and delay, and for their own purposes, entered into a compromise and agreed to pay the above sum for such rights as the Hudson's Bay Company possessed, which rights only entitled the Company to trade, fish and shoot, within certain defined limits, which rights the Company periodically applied to the Imperial Parliament to license, and no portion of the payment could equitably be charged against this Province without the consent of her people, especially as a renewal of the license was refused in 1859. Canada, moreover, never paid the cash, but raised the amount on loan guaranteed by the Imperial Government; and on this loan Manitoba is to-day paying more than her just proportion of the interest, and under this head the people of Manitoba will no doubt appreciate at its full value how much they owe the Dominion Government.

The lands of a country are the inalienable heritage of its people, to be administered by its Government for their benefit; and as Manitoba has not had any share in the public lands of the other Provinces, her people claim, and claim with every right of law, justice, morality, and good government, that the lands of this Province shall be administered by her own government for the

benefit of her people, and require compensation for those sold or otherwise dealt with by the Federal Government

THE TARIFF.

Agriculture is the great natural industry of Canada, giving employment to thousands, while the protected industries do not in proportion employ their tens, and, with a folly unparalleled, the policy of the present government seems to devise how best to oppress it, until directly and indirectly in this "free" country the burdens and exactions are greater than the worst landlord in Britain and Ireland would have dared to impose. Especially is this the case in Manitoba, where agriculture is the *sole* native industry, and where from her geographical position and the prohibitory tariff, the cost of every article used or consumed is far in excess of what might be under other circumstances, and where we are practically denied commercial intercourse with the neighbouring States, and shut out by the policy of the Dominion Government from the markets of the world for our grain, and the bringing in of goods from Britain via Hudson's Bay.

Monopolies of every kind are hindering the development of her natural resources and grinding the life blood out of her settlers. Railway monopolies, elevator monopolies, trade monopolies, but no monopoly is so injurious to the Province as the unjust and excessive tariff which the protective policy of the central government exacts from her people.

The duty on agricultural implements, the tools of the farmer's trade, received a greater prominence than some others which are equally oppressive but not so directly felt, owing to the infamous way in which the increase of ten per cent. was granted in 1883 by Sir Leonard Tilley to the already too highly nursed manufacturers, and after his refusal to make any addition on the grounds that the settlers of the Northwest were "already heavily encumbered." If, however, we take first those articles which enter into daily use or consumption in a household, and see what duties are levied on them, we find that the average contribution to the Dominion revenue is 25 to 30 per cent., cash extracted from the people of this Province, withdrawn and spent in and on the Eastern

Provinces, and for which Manitoba does not receive one dollar in return.

Agricultural implements, 35 per cent.; animals of all kinds, 20 per cent.; axes, 30 per cent.; buggies, waggons, 35 per cent.; caps, hats, coats, etc., 25 per cent.; manufactures of cotton and wool, equivalent to 50 per cent.; cutlery, 20 per cent.; earthenware and stoneware, 25 and 30 per cent.; fruits, 20 and 25; furniture, 35; glassware, 20 and 30; hosiery, equivalent to 40; lumber, 20; churns, pails, tubs, brooms, brushes, 25; paper and envelopes, 20 and 25; rice, 1c. per lb., or equal to 30 to 40 per cent. according to quality; sugar, equivalent to 40 per cent.; stoves, 25 per cent.; coals, 50 to 60 cents per ton.

From the foregoing list it will be seen that the immigrant has to pay on every \$100 worth of implements \$35, furniture \$35, and on all his clothing for himself and family \$40 to \$50, in addition to first cost. The requirements of the government must of course be met, but the incidence of taxation should be so adjusted that it falls most heavily upon those best able to bear it, or at least equally on all. In Canada it is the reverse, for it is on the cheaper classes of goods that it falls most heavily, and the farmers and workingmen are the chief sufferers.

Canada at this time is the most heavily protected of any English speaking country in the world, the most expensive to live in, and the one of all others most in danger of financial collapse; but gradually the unfairness and oppressiveness of the tariff wall are beginning to dawn upon the people, and the day is not far distant when the system of extracting indirect contributions, in the form of prohibitory duties, from the pockets of the thousands to bonus those of the hundreds, will be exploded, and the workingmen are now fully realizing that if the protected, bonused, industries do give employment to about 300,000 men and women, their wages before the inauguration of the National Policy secured many more comforts than since, that their single dollar purchased more than a dollar and a quarter now, that wages now are no higher than before, and that the benefits and profits of the N. P. (not inaptly called the National Plunder,) are for the pockets of the employers and manufacturers, and not for the employed.

Now, supposing that each Province in confederation had the right to regulate its own customs tariff, contributing a percentage per head of its population to the central exchequer for the general purposes of the Dominion Government, that the Hudson's Bay railway was an accomplished fact, it is evident that the manufacturers of any one Province would have to compete in the markets of the other Provinces against those of Great Britain and the United States, and that the goods imported to Manitoba would cost, laid down, the prices paid in any of the other markets, with freights, insurances and other charges, plus the Provincial customs duties on first costs. If this independent action as regards customs duties existed, it is also evident that Canadian manufacturers' prices must be low enough to enable them to sell against those of other countries; and if now they are able to manufacture as cheaply as those in the States, which with cheaper labor than there, they ought to be able to do, it follows that the prohibitory duties, which exclude imports, the duties on which would contribute to the Dominion revenue, and so far lighten those on other articles, and the people's burdens, they (the manufacturers) are at present enabled not only to realize a profit on their manufactures equal to those realized by their competitors in the other countries, but to pocket a bonus from the nation equivalent to the duty which prevents competition. We have been told that many classes of goods are much lower to-day in Manitoba than they have ever been before, and notably agricultural implements, but those making such statements make no allowance for the large decrease in the cost of the materials which enter into their manufacture, the improvements in the machinery used, thus effecting in the saving of labor and materials no small percentage of the cost; and in addition the greater and cheaper facilities for laying down all classes of goods. Iron, steel, copper, tin, zinc, are at present lower in price than they have been known for some years past, and indeed the two first named are at abnormally low prices.

Let us look at the position which Manitoba would occupy as regards her trade and finance if each Province framed its own tariff, collected its own duties, and was not responsible for any

portion of the debts of the other Provinces. The importations to Manitoba in 1883 on which duties were collected at the ports of entry in the Province amounted to about - - - \$7,310,701

Those from the other Provinces, on which the duties had been paid at Halifax, Quebec, Montreal, Toronto, etc., amounted to - - - - -	11,621,583
Free goods - - - - -	2,007,812

Making an aggregate of - - - - -	\$20,940,096
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Assuming an average duty of 25 per cent. on the first two items (\$18,932,284), the revenue of the Province would amount to \$4,733,071. In 1883, however, Manitoba contributed in duties paid at her own ports of entry \$1,765,490.48 only, so that the people of this Province paid somewhere about \$2,967,580 to swell the receipts, as duties, paid nominally by the other Provinces, to the Dominion exchequer, but actually by Manitobans as the purchasers of the goods, and also to increase the profits exacted by the highly protected and pampered industries in the East, while the whole amount received back was in a subsidy of \$299,849.44. The whole expenditure of the Province for the same year, including administration of justice, education, public buildings, etc., was \$572,000 (see Mr. Norquay's manifesto).

In addition to the contributions in customs duties, the Federal Government received from sales of lands, in cash—

1882 and 1883 - - - - -	\$2,351,202
1884 to date - - - - -	516,000
From minerals and timber - - - - -	130,724

And there is falling due in yearly payments, within three years - - - - -	4,000,393
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and this, be it remembered, is entirely apart from all grants to railways. It will thus be seen that Manitoba as an independent Province, with a revenue based on the National Policy tariff, would receive in customs duties alone, 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ million dollars; while on a purely fiscal revenue tariff, with an expenditure calculated at one-and-a-half millions (\$1,500,000), an average rate of ten per cent. would be ample, and would leave a large proportion to be expended on public buildings and other improvements.

The debts of the Dominion amount now to over \$245,000,000, or equivalent to over \$56 per head of the population—costing the country for management, commissions, and interest, a yearly sum of not less than ten million dollars, or equal to \$2.50 or rather more to its whole population. Of this debt, only \$1,460,000 has been incurred on account of the Northwest. The public debt of the United States is \$1,256,758,000, or less than \$25 per head of its population. The debt of the Dominion yearly increasing—that of the States rapidly decreasing. The population of Canada at best at a standstill, allowing for the natural increase, while that of the States is making progress by rapid strides.

THE RAILWAY MONOPOLY.

This is one of the great grievances of this Province, but few really appreciate the full significance of it, and are apt to see it only in its evil effects in retarding the settling up and development of this country—too apt to lay the blame on the Canadian Pacific Railway Company and overlook that in the arbitrary and tyrannical exercise of the veto power by the Ottawa government (as a matter of policy) the autonomy of the Province, and political freedom, so dear to every British subject, are destroyed.

Our quarrel is not with the C. P. R. Company, which only insists on the terms of their bargain being fulfilled, but with the Dominion Government, which has evidently placed itself in the position that it dare not demand from the railway company the strict fulfilment of their part of the contract. If it had been otherwise, then the monopoly should have been cancelled when the demand for further assistance from the nation was made.

To carry out the idea of a great confederation extending from Ocean to Ocean the Canadian Pacific Railway is being built, and I doubt if those who are responsible for it, sufficiently realize the magnitude of the undertaking, the enormous drain it must be for many years on the resources of Canada, already sufficiently burdened, and how little the results are likely to justify the expenditure of an amount which would tax the energies and means of a great nation, instead of one of four millions and one third of people.

The idea of a confederation extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean is a very captivating one, but I fear there are influences now at work, and elements so unharmonious as will after all render such a lasting impossibility, and prove "*que le jeu n'en vaut pas la chandelle.*"

We were told that the railway would not cost the country a dollar but would be built out of the lands of the North-West—are the lands of Manitoba and the Territories, the fairest and richest in the world for agricultural purposes, of no value? Is the Northwest likely to endure being fleeced to pay for a great national highway in which the other members of confederation have the greatest interests, or is Manitoba likely tamely to submit to see a thin steel line to the west built largely at her expense, and be denied branches to develop her fertile districts to the south, and give commercial intercourse with her neighbours; to be denied a railway to the north, as an outlet for her products to the markets of the world, and an inlet for her importations and her immigrants shorter and cheaper than any other.

We have heard much lately from the Finance Minister of the Dominion regarding the balance of trade, and of the necessity of our exports exceeding our imports, and to do this native industries must be protected, Canada must be had for Canadians, but he has not explained how the exports are to be increased by the high prohibitory duties, which, while excluding imports for the sake of bolstering up a few spurious manufactures makes the cost of production greater than in other centres of industry and prevents Canada competing against those of Britain, which in all essential goods is the cheapest manufacturing country in the world, and having regard to the cost of living, the one where the highest remuneration is paid for labor, man for man.

We have been told on the one hand, when further assistance was required for the Canadian Pacific Railway main line, that the railway is a necessity to promote settlement, to develop and build up the country, and on the other, that there is no use in building branches to the south, and south west, until the districts in those directions are settled up so as to make them paying enterprises. Both arguments cannot be correct, and the first is gen-

erally accepted as the true one, as it has now passed into a proverb, that railways develop their own traffic, intending settlers naturally seeking those districts where ready means of transportation already exist, or where there is the prospect of their existing in the near future. With a more intelligent railway policy, and the land regulations in the past as they are now, the whole of Canada unsacrificed for communication with British Columbia, the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway built only to Moosejaw, or at the furthest to Calgary, the line from West Lynne made along the first correction line to the 102nd meridian, and the Manitoba and Southwestern built along the third correction line, with connections at intervals with the main line, Southern Manitoba would not only have retained the settlers (over 30,000) who have gone over to Dakota, but settlement would have been hastened, the main line's resources taxed to the uttermost to carry the produce of that magnificent country, and the desire of Sir L. Tilley's heart realized in the balance of trade being turned in favor of Canada.

I have little hesitation in believing that if this policy had been pursued two years ago, there would have been 300,000 settlers in the Northwest at the close of 1884, every year being largely added to, and at the close of 1887 there would have been 50,000 growers of grain each cultivating on the average 100 acres of land, and taking wheat as the basis, at a yield of 18 bushels to the acre, producing in the aggregate ninety millions of bushels, which at the low price of 70c. per bushel gives a money value in the Northwest of \$63,000,000, two thirds of which would have been available for exportation. Instead of this, or the early prospect of this what do we see in our own Province? A railway monopoly and its attendant evils ruining the finances of the railway itself; the farming interests crushed, and the settlers in a state of discontent and agitating for the commonest rights of British subjects, or of any free born people, rights enjoyed already by the people of the other Provinces, and rights which those of this Province are determined to obtain at all hazards, whatever may be the consequences. Let it be Canada for the Canadians by all means, but let it not be Canada for any particular section of it, or for a hand-

ful of protected manufacturers (less than 5,000), who are now bonused at the expense of the whole people, and who seem masters, along with railway contractors, of the present situation, and rulers of the country, but only so until the people rise in their might and show the government who are the real masters.

I have said that there are influences now at work, and elements so unharmonious as will render a continuance of confederation impossible. There is a great deal of lip loyalty lately to confederation, and strong partisans, who never can rise above party, or imagine any one loyal but themselves, howl if a word is said against their idol, or his government, and forget that our loyalty is first due to the head of confederation, that is the Crown, and next to the Province of our birth or adoption, and not to the Ottawa oligarchy which after all is only the political agents of the Crown, agents too out of sympathy politically with the great body of the British people. The misfortune seems to be in Canada that in politics, party is before principle, purse first, patriotism next, and the men who howl loudest against opponents do so in the hope of getting some sop from a government, which has already been only too lavish in bestowing bribes and sops to blatant supporters. Men of thought and reflection who desire to see confederation result in a strong and united nation, view with great anxiety the centralizing policy of its premier, and his attempts to over-ride and crush the autonomy of the several Provinces, and no one knows better than Sir John A. Macdonald the danger of his present policy, and that if continued it must cause the disintegration of confederation, and the Dominion of Canada cease to exist. In this policy he is sustained by those renegades to their Provinces, who prefer party to principle; and by the large voting power of Quebec. But, not much longer will the British people in a British Colony submit to be ruled by a government sustained by a "brute majority" chiefly composed of the representatives of a people alien to us in race, thought, language and feelings; of a people whom it seems impossible to satisfy; of a people that cannot be welded into confederation, and whose whole sympathies and traditions lead them to look rather to France than to Britain. If from no other cause, it seems impossible to

make a nation out of the confederated Provinces, for it is impossible to weld into one harmonious whole the discordant elements which nature herself has placed in the way, and which party politicians have for their own purposes strengthened. True, a powerful lever lies in the hands of any statesman bold enough to use it, in the danger which the Province of Quebec lies in, if confederation is ruptured. - It is insolvent through local mis-government, and no longer would a Federal Treasury bleed to pay for her voting support; annexation is not to be thought of for many reasons, political, linguistic and financial, and to her confederation is an absolute necessity. The Maritime Provinces too are insolvent since joining the Union, their trade seriously injured, their people heavily incumbered by taxation, and their revenues insufficient for their wants. Quebec and Montreal supplant Halifax and St. John in summer, and New York, Boston and Portland in winter, and the edifying policy of a large subsidised Canadian road making ports in the United States their termini instead of the magnificent harbor of Halifax will no doubt be considered truly patriotic by some.

What interest has Ontario in Quebec or in the Maritime Provinces? Almost none, commercially or otherwise, her interests being rather in a commercial union with the States. Having been thoroughly well governed, and her finances admirably administered, she calmly awaits the development of events. What interests has Manitoba identical with the Eastern Provinces? Absolutely none. Their interests in Manitoba are in finding a market for their goods, but those of this Province lie in commercial union with the States, and in direct intercourse with Great Britain. British Columbia neither has interests in the Eastern Provinces, nor have they in her, and the enormous cost of securing her adherence to confederation will prove a stupendous error, and the through traffic on the railway will never pay running expenses, as the position of the Union Pacific Railway to-day only too surely shows. What benefits then does Manitoba gain now, or likely to gain by being a member of confederation, what recompense for her cash contributions to the Federal Treasury, which in 1863 directly and indirectly from customs duties amounted to four and three quarter millions dollars, and from sales of lands

over one million dollars. What compensation for the finest of the lands given to build a great international railway from which this Province has less to gain than the other Provinces, (and having within its boundaries the most cheaply constructed and most remunerative portion) absolutely nothing but a paltry subsidy of \$299,849.44, and the privilege of travelling in and paying for seats in railway cars which have been built at her expense. Have we had public works gone on with, which would have attracted labor and assisted settlement? Could the Dominion in case of war afford us protection against the inroads of a foe? Is there one thing that has been done, or that is likely to be done that with our own natural resources to administer we could not do better ourselves?

We have had the Public Lands of the Province filched from us (on the pretence of their having been bought) and sold or used for Federal purposes—the tariff contributions to the treasury used to support a government entirely out of sympathy with the feelings and aspirations of the people here, and the members of which (government) received with cheers the taunts and insults cast on the settlers of Manitoba by some of their own supporters—and in case of war, so far from affording protection the Dominion has no means of protecting itself. All honor to the noble fellows who did their duty at Ridgeway against the Fenian marauders, but that was not war, and Canada's citizen soldiers, although of excellent material, would be found ill able to cope against well drilled trained troops, and need the services of a General Luard, rather than the fulsome compliments of the Minister of Militia. With the exception of some fine regiments in Toronto, Hamilton, and Montreal, which drill regularly, and are as fine men as one desires to see, the "army" of Canada might as well not exist.

What then should be done to secure that union and harmony among the Provinces which is so great a desideratum, and without which confederation must cease—an interest common to all should be found if possible as a basis to start from, and an immediate revision of the British North America Act should be agreed on, and this Act so amended as to meet the altered circumstances of the Provinces since it was passed in 1867.

Mutual protection is a natural basis for a Federal union economy in administration is another, but the first does not apply, to Canada, and as regards the second we know only too well that the debts of the Dominion are yearly increasing, the expenditure becoming alarming, and out of all proportion to the results obtained, or to the tax bearing ability of a small nation of four and one-third millions of people.

The arrangement regarding the public debts of the "four" original Provinces was a fair enough one as regards them, but to a new unsettled Province such as Manitoba was in 1870, when it became a member of confederation, with the prospect of a large and rapid influx of settlers, and without public improvements, it was a positive injustice, for the debts of the older Provinces had been incurred over many years, and the improvements and public buildings were of a permanent nature in those Provinces, which still reaped the benefits, although relieved of the debts. As in the case of a partnership of persons where personal debts exist, they are charged to the debit of the personal accounts, and credit given for the value of the property assumed by the company, but in the case of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, the company assumes the debts, while each virtually retains the property, and Manitoba has to pay her proportion of the interest on those debts, amounting to somewhere near \$90,000,000, which does not include the large sums borrowed to build the Intercolonial Railway, and the railways in Prince Edwards Island, and British Columbia. In the case of Manitoba the calculation of the debt should not have been based on the population at the time of joining confederation, but, having regard to the time during which the other Provinces debts have been spread over; the progressive or unprogressive natures of these as compared with Manitoba, and the cost to her of improvements and buildings of a similar character, and also the prospective benefit of this Province within a given time to confederation, the allowance should have been made on an approximate average population during that time.

With the light of the present day, and from the utterances of Sir Charles Tupper in advocating the loan to the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, and with the above as a basis, we can arrive

at a close approximation to what Manitoba's population should have been, and ought to be now. The estimate of population at the close of twenty-five years should not have been lower than 500,000, which at the rate accorded to the other Provinces viz: 27.77 dollars per head would have made Manitoba's debt amount to \$13,885,000. I have not the data before me to enable me to estimate the extent of the lands of the Province, but allowing for the costs of surveys; the Province's proportion of the Canadian Pacific Railway, (say \$7,000,000); for homesteads, half-breeds claims, etc., the value cannot be less than fifteen to twenty millions of dollars at \$1 per acre. And assuming that the subsidy of 80c. per head of the population should be adjusted at the close of every five years since 1870, to be ascertained by census, until the number reached 600,000, the average for the first fifteen years would not be less than 85,000, and for twenty-five years or five periods 290,000, (in 1875, 30,000; 1880-1, 65,000; 1885, 200,000; 1890, 450,000; 1895, 750,000). Those figures would give Manitoba a revenue for 1883 of say—

Estimated debt \$13,885,000 at 5 per cent.	\$694,250
“ value of lands \$15,000,000 at 5 per cent.	750,000
80c. per head on 85,000 of a population	68,000
	<hr/>
Making a total revenue of	\$1,512,250
	<hr/>

Those figures are of course only estimates, but they are close enough for my purpose, and illustrate the principle on which I believe and consider Manitoba should have entered confederation. Nova Scotia with a population of 300,000, and New Brunswick with 250,000, and with little hope of increase except from the natural growth of their people, became members of confederation in 1867 with debts of \$8,000,000 and \$7,000,000 respectively—retained their lands, and were allowed 80 cents per head of their population, besides having the advantage of their public buildings, works and other improvements. How Manitoba is to obtain works of a similar kind out of the subsidy doled out to her, or rather screwed out of the Ottawa Government, is difficult to realize. In any arrangement with the other Provinces, Manitoba's

geographical and insular position should have had every consideration in her favor, instead of being used against her, as witness the additional ten per cent. placed on agricultural implements to compensate manufacturers for the extra cost of freight on their goods to her markets, as compared with freights paid on American implements, and in this way hinder imports from the States and destroy competition.

Instead of doing all in their power to encourage the settlement and development of this Province, the Ottawa Government have done everything to retard it. Their policy has been unstatesman-like, and marked by ignorance, carelessness, and maladministration, and may be summed up as one of plundering and blundering. Like the spider with the fly, they have invited immigrants to enter this country (so richly dowered by Nature) only to be ruined and bled to death for the interests of Ottawa; and by highly colored and misleading statements in pamphlets soyn broadcast over European countries, have deceived thousands, who, induced to come, have realized their falsity and gone elsewhere, cursing the authors of the lies, and doing all they can to prevent others being so entrapped. And yet why should it be so? Of all agricultural countries in the world, Manitoba offers the greatest advantages to hard-working, sober and persevering men who have some capital, who steadily settle down to farming, and who, if they don't realize wealth, can make for themselves and families homes, find a living, and for their children a provision in case of death.

The immediate causes are railway monopoly and all the evils resulting therefrom; and an oppressive and excessively high tariff, and for both, the government ruling at Ottawa (a distance of over 1600 miles from Winnipeg) is solely responsible. Doubtless those and other grievances will be remedied ere long, as bad governments don't last forever, and there are evidences not wanting that the one now existing may not continue long in power. But the important question arises regarding the rights of a people, and the power of a people, whether they are to endure tamely, and see those rights trampled on—the ordinary rights of British subjects denied,—or whether, having exhausted every constitu-

tional means of appeal, having failed to induce their local government to espouse the cause of this Province, they shall not themselves appeal to ~~the~~ Crown, where at least their grievances will receive respectful, attentive, and intelligent consideration, free from party bias or mercenary motives. As against a government, the power of a united people is omnipotent, and where right and justice are on their side, must succeed.

Already our demands are being better understood, and appreciated, by the liberal section of the press in the Eastern Provinces, and command the sympathy of those who prefer right to might, provincial rights to Ottawa usurpation, and the purity of government to a rule upheld by railway contractors, bonused manufacturers, and interested placemen. Ontario will, ere long, make common cause with Manitoba, as indeed daily it is becoming her interest to do; but let Manitobans ever keep steadily in view that their dependence must be on themselves, that no longer is there but a handful of people in this Province, and what may not be granted to their respectful appeals they are now in a position to command.

Are the demands unreasonable or unjust? Are they unconstitutional? Are they such as the other Provinces do not already possess? or do they seek to take what in right belongs to them? Are they subversive of good government, or endangering to confederation? So far from any of those things being the case, it is the continuance of the Province's grievances that must ere long rupture confederation, while their removal will make it stronger than it has ever been before.

We now seek an entire revision of the British North America Act; the terms of confederation altered to suit present circumstances; Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory admitted to confederation on such terms as the people of those Provinces will now sanction; representation in the Dominion Houses of Parliament in the ratio of the populations of those Provinces to the number of representatives from Ontario and Quebec, to be adjusted every five years; the autonomy of the several Provinces of confederation secured, every local legislature being supreme within its own boundaries on all local matters, and any appeal

being direct to the Crown. We require that the lands of the Province shall belong to it, and be administered for its benefit; that the school lands be sold and the proceeds funded and interest applied to educational purposes; that while recognizing as solemn obligations to be faithfully carried out, all agreements made by the Federal Government as stewards for this Province, yet beyond the ascertained cost of the railway within its boundaries, and deducting the costs of administration, surveys, etc., the balance be accounted for, and that a commission be appointed to ascertain and adjust the account, in the same manner as would be the case with a trustee who had administered the estate of a minor during fourteen years. That having regard to the urgent requirements of this Province for public improvements, the large revenue derived now, and every year increasing, from customs and excise duties, that the estimate of the Province's public debt shall be on the basis of a population of not less than 400,000, and a sum equal to five per cent. on the amount he spent annually until the capital sum is reached; all public buildings, etc., to belong to the Federal Government, as is the case in the other Provinces. That the grant of 80 cents per head shall be on the actual ascertained population at the close of 1884, and thereafter by census taken at the close of every five years until the number reaches 600,000, to continue at that number until by ordinary census the numbers will aggregate one million and then to be open for a fresh arrangement, by mutual agreement, between the central and local governments. That an adjustment of the tariff on agricultural implements and lumber, which presses so heavily on the farming interests of this Province, shall take place and a reduction made so as to place those interests in as favorable a position as they were before the last increase in the duties. That the boundaries of Manitoba shall extend north to Hudson's Bay, so as to include Port Churchill, thus giving Manitoba a seaport, and direct communication with British and foreign markets.

Those demands being granted I look on as essential to the status of Manitoba as a partner in confederation, and her continuing as such. It is better now to view this question in all its

bearings on the future of confederation itself, and make such arrangements now as will endure—such arrangements as may give Manitoba some interest in remaining a member of the Federal Union, which at present there is not. At present, as I have said, there is none,—the cash contributions of this Province to the Dominion exchequer amount in direct and indirect taxation to nearly five million dollars—cash taken out of the Province and spent elsewhere, not for its benefit but for Federal purposes,—the contributions from lands are not less than one million dollars annually—cash also withdrawn and spent elsewhere,—the best and richest lands of the Province taken to subsidize a great national railway in which Manitoba is only interested to the extent of 400 miles, or in money value seven million dollars,—her representation in the Dominion Parliament is so small that it has no weight in the councils of the nation, and in consequence her interests are either unconsidered or treated as if they were those of a purchased or conquered country, and the remonstrances of the only manly, patriotic member, the member for Marquette, (Mr. Watson) treated with scorn, or laughed out of court, and that member himself grossly insulted by a Minister of the Cabinet because he dared to stand up for the rights of his Province—a Minister who has publicly declared that if Manioban interests conflict with those of the Dominion, Manitoba must go to the wall. In lieu of all our contributions, Manitoba has had returned to her a subsidy of \$299,844.44, while the proportion of interest alone paid by this Province on the debts of the older Provinces is not less than \$300,000.

Many will no doubt say that Manitoba has no "right" to the extension of her boundaries to Hudson's Bay, and that this must be a matter of arrangement with the Dominion Government as representing the Federal Union; but from those holding this view I take leave to differ, and for the following reasons: Confederation is, as we have seen, a partnership of Provinces, having for its "contract of partnership" the British North America Act. That act defines the terms on which confederation is to exist, and on which it may be extended, and clearly states that Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territory, or "either" of them, are to be

"admitted," etc., and the government of the older Provinces had no more right to dismember one or both of those without the consent of their people, than it had to dismember British Columbia. Moreover, Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territory can only exist as parts of confederation, as partners (that is, as Provinces,) thereof, as the British North America Act gives no power to do otherwise, and the people of those countries have never even been asked to consent to the Federal Union itself. In their case, right has been might; but Manitoba is no longer a weakly child, but a young Hercules, knowing now its rights and feeling its power.

I fearlessly assert that throughout British North America there are no more loyal people to be found than in the Northwest, but their loyalty is to the head of confederation—the *Crown*—and not to a directorate chosen from the representatives sent to Ottawa by the confederated colonies; and while as solicitous of seeing the Dominion of Canada consolidated into a strong nation as the Eastern Provinces can be, yet the same self-interest which influences the people of those Provinces actuates those of the Northwest, and while asking no special favors, no "spoonfeeding" at the instance of the member for Cardwell, they demand that the interests of all the members of the Federal Union shall have due consideration—that those of one partner shall not be sacrificed for the advantage of the others, and that confederation exists for the common good, and not for the benefit of one or more, or for any party of politicians.

Such is the case I present in regard to the position and relations of Manitoba to Confederation—a case of plunder on the one side, hitherto suffering and forbearance on the other, and although not claiming accuracy in some of the details, yet it will be found substantially correct, and as illustrating a principle (the common good in partnerships,) I hope some points may be found which may cause thought and reflection on where the present centralizing policy at Ottawa is driving confederation to, and specially what course is necessary for Manitobans to adopt to secure justice to their own Province.

VERITAS VINCIT.

WINNIPEG, 14th April, 1884.